1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

RANK AND TITLES

CLASS DISTINCTION

Stature and good physique are considered the marks of a nobleman. In olden days superior diet no doubt promoted the difference but now that the people are prosperous the diet is probably more uniform. The average height of 21 Tumbou men measured is 1.739 meters; of 18 Wathiwathi men, 1.689 meters, a difference of 5 centimeters. The difference is noticeable at dances held jointly by Tumbou and other villages; some allowance, however, must be made for the humble and awkward bearing of the villagers. Difference in stature between the nobles and the people of Tumbou proper is imperceptible as far as my scanty figures go. 565 141

Politeness (*vakarokoko*) is the sign of a nobleman; "a nobleman is known by his manner." A man who is not polite is known immediately as a lowborn fellow. From my experience I should say that the higher a man, the better his manners. The remainder of Tumbou are well bred but without quite so fine a manner. The villagers have not the style and are distinctly inclined to be casual with strangers. 565 576

"Gentlefolk are good natured; it is the way of the lowborn to scold," says one man. The chief of Nasangalau once said to me: "Our hearts turn to the High Chief's nephew and we fear him because he does not pose as a nobleman. If he comes into a house, he does not sit at the top, but on one side. He never asks for bark cloth or oil." If a man is not respectful, the nobleman does not get angry. I do not think a just anger detracts from a nobleman's prestige, if it is dignified; rather the contrary. Murdering one another is said to be the way of the lowborn; war befits nobles.

The nobility have more confidence and self-assertion, like men accustomed to command. They order their inferiors about; but the best do it nicely. Of old, if the lowborn killed a nobleman who oppressed them, they pulled out his tongue and liver, and ate them saying, "You always oppressed us and imposed burdens upon us." 565 578 266

I was often told that the country folk could tell me nothing, and that only the gentry knew anything. Experience amply confirmed this. There was very little indeed to be got from the villages; and for my information I had to rely entirely upon Tumbou. The gentry seem to be naturally more intelligent. The difference between them and the villagers is not due entirely to brains, however; Tumbou is the center of things, a very important fact where a man's education is made by listening to his elders and observing their actions. Melaia ascribed her vast learning to her keeping always at 565

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sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

OFFERINGS

Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge."[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambalavu e nggou vosa ka sosova thake tu yani ka vunura."* *Sosova* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

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From Matuku, Moala Islands, comes the following account of proceedings after the battle:

The clubs of the manslayers, on the day on which they were presented with gifts, are called *ngandro;* the manslayers run with them to the temple. For four nights they slept in a separate house. If one of them wanted badly to see his child, he would go up to his house, touch the child with a reed from outside, kiss the reed, and go back to the common house.

The chief then called Tumbunimalungu, now called Vaka (p. 223) would call out in the night, "The clubs are turned over." Then the conch was blown and all awakened. The clubs were not turned over; that was merely their way of doing. After four nights they went to bathe when everyone was asleep. The clubs were carried by Tumbunimalungu and the conch was blown. The people might not exclaim; if anyone did, he was *mokau,* that is, he would be killed in the next battle. On that day they carried the club round and slew any pig they chose, even though it belonged to the Roko Sau.

Of old, only the old men, not the women and children, ate men.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
● 266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
[252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

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Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79. 172

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel. 172 396

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These have been described on pages 135-136. 172

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for steaming human bodies (*lovo ni mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast. [354] [266]

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112). [323] [438]

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the volcanic islands but none was located. [324] [316]

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266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this purpose. The bodies were called *mbaḳola,* a term still used to
[578] inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down
a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.